# Semantics of Delimiters

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## 1. Introduction

One of the characteristics which drastically distinguish Korean (and Japanese) from English (and other languages) is the phenomenon of Korean (and Japanese) delimiters, the counterpart of which is almost lacking in many languages. When a speaker communicates with an addressee, the speaker may report the message to the addressee from a neutral point of view, or he may add his own evaluation and/or intention and/or focus to the neutrally transmittable message in a discourse setting such as situation and context. In other words, neutrally transmittable messages may be semantically (and pragmatically) enriched by the speaker's addition of his evaluation and/or intention and/or focus in terms of presupposition, assertion, and implication (i.e. entailment in a loose sense). For example, the sentence *John hits his wife* carries the neutral report of John's beating of his wife if it has normal stress and intonation. However, if the speaker emphasizes, for example, the object noun *his wife*, the neutral report must be qualified to the effect that John hits his wife but not others, so that the sentence has nearly the same sense of the cleft sentence *it is his wife that John hits*, or nearly the same sense of the sentence where the word *only* is added to his wife as in *John hits only his wife*. If the speaker adds the word *also* to the subject noun *John* as in *John also hits his wife*, (1) he presupposes that there are others who hit their wives, (2) he asserts that John is not a unique husband who hits wife, and (3) he implies that the registered members in the discourse also do the same activity as John does.

Words such as *only*, *also*, and *even* in English are usually called quasi-quantifiers or special adverbs. They are translated into Korean *man* (Jap. *dake*), *to* (Jap. *mo*), and *to* (Jap. *mo*), respectively. In English, such words are very limited in number, but the number of

such words is larger in Korean (and Japanese). By delimiter, I refer to particles which semantically correspond to English *only, also, even,* etc. Delimiters are words such as *nin* (Jap. *wa*) 'only concerned', *ya* (Jap. *wa*) 'taken for granted', *to* (Jap. *mo*) 'also, even', *man* (Jap. *dake*) 'only, exactly', *na* (Jap. *demo*) 'rather as the second choice', *lato* (Jap. *demo*) 'as the last recourse, even as the last recourse', etc.[1] It is extremely difficult to assign any concrete English tag translations to these particles. Unlike English, these morphemes are not free but always bound to nouns (including sentential complements), adverbs, or conjunctors. There are two types of particles in Korean and Japanese: one is case markers which are suffixed to nouns, and the other is delimiters. Traditional Korean (and Japanese) grammarians have called delimiters 'special auxiliary particles'. The term 'delimiter' means that the element to which a delimiter is attached is semantically delimited and/or specified and/or specifed in the scope.

Since I have discussed syntactic aspects of delimiters in connection with case markers elsewhere (Yang 1972a:59-115), I will not repeat the discussion here. Instead, I deal with their semantic aspects such as presupposition, assertion, and implication with respect to the discourse setting. In this paper, I will deal only with the delimiters indicated in the preceding paragraph; moreover, examples of delimiter-attached elements will be confined to simplex NP's (excluding environments of complex NP's, adverbs, and conjunctors) to avoid the extreme difficulty of English translations. Since English tag translations are not easily available, the meaning of delimiters cannot be conveyed to speakers of other languages without the explication of contexs and the speaker's intention. If the goal of this paper is achieved, it is hoped to contribute towards pedagogical purposes as well as theoretical exploration.

Japanese delimiters are simultaneously alluded to in the process of the discussion of Korean delimiters, but the exact refinement of Japanese delimiters is left to native linguists of the language. As a near-native speaker of Japanese, I have a serious limitation in the fine semantic judgment of the exact uses of Japanese delimiters in the discourse setting. Korean and Japanese have the following rough correspondence:[2]

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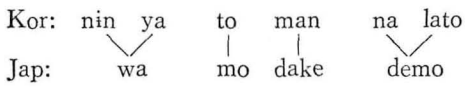
[1] Delimiters *nin, ya, na* and *lato* become *in, iya, ina* and *ilato* after consonants. Nominative marker *ka,* accusative marker *lil* and instrument marker *lo* become *i, il* and *ilo* after consonants. Appropriate variants are used in the data. Throughout the data, auxiliary (i.e. modality) forms are not represented in terms of exact morphemes, but adjusted to pronunciation to some extent; vowels /e/ and /ɛ/ are represented as /e/ for ease in typing (actually my speech does not distinguish them except for a limited number of words).

[2] When the correspondence in (1) does not hold, it is noted at appropriate points.

(1) Correspondence chart of Korean and Japanese delimiters




Notice that it is not the case that each Korean delimiter has its correspondent Japanese counterpart. There are cases where two Korean delimiters correspond to one Japanese delimiter. This phenomenon is not accidental. Korean *nin* and *ya* have many semantic aspects in common, and they are lexicalized into one Japanese delimiter *wa*. Korean *na* and *lato* also have many semantic aspects in common, and they are lexicalized into one Japanese delimiter *demo*. But notice that Korean *to* 'also, even' and *man* 'only' have their respective counterparts in Japanese, i.e., *mo* and *dake*. The reason is that they are semantically opposite, and they cannot be lexicalized into one Japanese delimiter.

## 2. NiN 'only concerned'

Most of the previous studies of this delimiter have made efforts in contrastive explorations of the delimiter *nin* which becomes *in* after a consonant (Jap. *wa*) vs. the nominative case marker *ka* which becomes *i* after a consonant (Jap. *ga*). They seem to argue that *nin* marks (1) topic or theme as opposed to comment, and (2) contrast. For example, Kuno (1972:270) states that Japanese *wa* (Kor. *nin*) marks either the theme or the contrasted element of a sentence. The theme must be either anaphoric (i.e. previously mentioned) or generic, while there is no such restriction for the contrasted element. He provides the following examples:

(2) a. kuzira-*wa* honyuu-doobutu desu. (generic)
whale mammal is

'A whale is a mammal.'

b. John-*wa* watakusi-no tomodati desu. (anaphoric)
my friend is

'John is my friend.'

c. ame-*wa* hutte imasu-ga, yuki-*wa* hutte imasen. (contrast)
rain falling is but snow falling is-not

'Rain is falling, but snow is not.'

Kuno's analysis of Japanese *wa* (Kor. *nin*) seems to be partially correct. It is true that *wa* (Kor. *nin*) may mark theme (or topic) or contrast, but what is more important is to realize the fact that *wa* (Kor. *nin*) is one of the particles which mark theme and contrast. Most of the previous studies seem to regard *wa* (Kor. *nin*) as the unique marker

for theme and contrast. Actually all of the delimiters and case markers may mark theme and contrast in appropriate contexts. In the following examples, (a) sentences are arranged in normal word order while (b) and (c) sentences are arranged so that the topicalized element (cut by a comma for convenience) is preposed to the front of the sentence:

(3) a. nilkin sete-ka cəlmin sete-lil ihehe-yaha-nta.
old generation young generation understand-must
'The old generation must understand the young generation.'

b. cəlmin sete-lil, nilkin sete-ka ihehe-yaha-nta.
'The young generation, the old generation must understand.'

c. cəlmin sete-{nin, ya, to, man, na, lato, (delimiters)}, nilkin sete-ka ihehe-yaha-nta.
'The young generation, the old generation must understand.'

(4) a. John-i Mary-lil i khal-lo ccill-əssta.
subj obj this knife with stab past
'John stabbed Mary with this knife.'

b. i khal-lo, John-i Mary-lil cill-əssta
'With this knife, John stabbed Mary,'

c. i khal-lo-{nin, ya, to, man, na, lato}, John-i Mary-lil ccill-əssta.
'With this knife, John-stabbed Mary.'

(5) a. Mary-ka tosəkwan-esə kongpuha-yəssta.
subj library in study past
'Mary studied in the library.'

b. tosəkwan-esə, Mary-ka kongpuha-yəssta.
'In the library, Mary studied.'

c. tosəkwan-esə-{nin, ya, to, man, na, lato}, Mary-ka kongpuha-yəssta.
'In the library, Mary studied.'

(3a) reads as *the old generation must understand the young generation.* In (3b) the object NP *the young generation* is preposed to the front of the sentence as the topicalized (or thematized) element. If the topic or theme is marked uniquely by *nin* (Jap. *wa*), (3b) must be ungrammatical as a sentence which has a topic. But this sentence is perfectly all right. This shows that the accusative marker *lil* (Jap. *o*) which usually marks object NP's may mark topic or theme. In (3c) only delimiters are suffixed to the topicalized element, and this sentence is grammatical. This shows that any delimiter may mark topic. In the above examples, the meaning of delimiters is not incorporated in the English translations for convenience. Note in passing that the nominative marker *ka* (Jap. *ga*) and the accusative

marker *lil* (Jap. *o*) are obligatorily deleted before any delimiter (except when honorific NP's have the nominative marker *kkesə*, which may be optionally deleted before any delimiter). Examples (4) show that the instrument marker *lo* (Jap. *de*) with or without a delimiter may mark topic or theme. Examples (5) show that the location marker *esə* (Jap. *de*) with or without a delimiter may mark topic or theme. Examples (3 to 5) are sufficient to refute the claim that topic or theme is uniquely marked by *nin* (Jap. *wa*).

Now I will show that the contrasted element is marked not only by *nin* but also by other particles. Consider the following:

(6) a. Susan-*nin* atil-il nah-ko, Mary-*nin* ttal-il nah-assta.
son obj give-birth-and daughter give-birth-past
'Susan gave birth to a son, and Mary gave birth to a daughter.'

b. Susan-*to* atil-il nah-ko, Mary-*to* ttal-il nah-assta.
also also
'Susan gave birth to a son, and Mary gave birth to a daughter too.'

c. Susan-*man* atil-il nah-ko, Mary-*nin* ttal-il nah-assta.
only only-concerned
'Only Susan gave birth to a son, and Mary gave birth to a daughter.'

d. Susan-*i* atil-il nah-ko, Mary-*ka* ttal-il nah-assta.
subj subj
'Susan gave birth to a son, and Mary gave birth to a daughter.'

Independently of particles under consideration, the two conjuncts provide a context where a contrast is guaranteed. The first conjunct says that Susan gave birth to a son, and the second conjunct says that Mary gave birth to a daughter. If *nin* (Jap. *wa*) is the unique marker for contrast, then the above sentences except (6a) must be ungrammatical. But all of them are perfectly grammatical. What makes up the contrast is not any specific marker but the semantic contents of the conjuncts. Sentences above are semantically different depending on the different particle. The Semantics of delimiters will be revealed at appropriate points of the ensuing discussions.

I postulate the following semantics for the delimiter *nin* (Jap. *wa*):

(7) **Semantics of nin**

Presupposition: (1) The *nin*-attached element is known or registered.
(2) Sister members explicitly or implicitly exist.

Assertion: The *nin*-attached element is only concerned in an act or event.

Implication: (1) The registered or expected sister members do not have the same

value as the *nin*-attached element has.

(2) The unregistered or unexpected sister members are neutral.

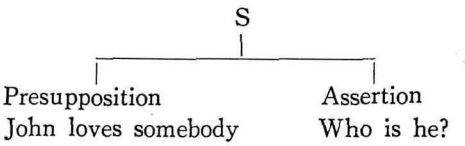
Presupposition (1) says that the *nin*-attached element is known to the speaker (and addressee) or registered in a given discourse. Such a context is provided by generic, anaphoric, deictic, or uniquely existing factor. Now we will see what can be explained by Presupposition (1). For example, question words do not co-occur with *nin* except for the contrast:

(8) John-i *nuku*-{lil, *nin} salangha-ninya?
subj who obj love question

'Who does John love?'

This question sentence presupposes that John loves somebody, and asserts (i.e. asks) who he is. This semantic information may be represented as:[3]

(9)




All the elements except the questioned word are known to the speaker (i.e. the questioner): the questioned element is not known. Since the *nin*-attached element is known to the speaker, *nin* and the questioned element are not compatible with each other.

Presupposition (1) also can explain the following fact. The adverb *ta* has two readings: one is a universal quantifier *all*, and the other expresses the speaker's surprise (i.e. the speaker's unexpectation). The surprise *ta* is not compatible with *nin*:

(10) yəca-{ka, *nin} ta kwənthu-lil hane.
woman subj suprisingly boxing obj do

'(I am surprised to notice that) women box.'

If *ta* is interpreted as a universal quantifier, this sentence is grammatical, it reads: all of the women box. But if it is interpreted as unexpected, then this sentence is not grammatical. The reason is that *nin* has the expected feature whereas the adverb *ta* has the unexpected feature.

Presupposition (2) says that the *nin*-attached element assumes the existence of sister members in the context. This will be discussed in connection with the Implication postulated in (7).

The speaker asserts that the *nin*-attached element is only concerned. This means that

[3] This analysis has already been made by others. For one example, see Bar-Lev (1972).

other sister members which are registered are not directly concerned in the speech act. Suppose a situation where some foods such as kimchi, salami and pizza are referred to in a discourse. If someone utters a sentence like *speaking only of kimchi, I like it,* or *as far as kimchi is only concerned, I like it,* the speaker's direct concern is about kimchi but not salami or pizza. This English sentence translates into Korean as *na-ka kimchi-nin cohaha-nta,* where the object NP *kimchi* is suffixed with *nin.*

Implication (1) says that if the *nin*-attached element has a feature X, then the clearly registered or expected sister members do not have that feature. For example,

(11) a. John, Bill and Jim took the comprehensive exam.

b. John-*nin* hapkyəkha-assta.
pass past

'Speaking only of John, he passed it.'

c. Bill and Jim did not pass it.'

(a) provides a context where John, Bill and Jim are registered or known sister members in the discourse. In this context, if someone utters (b), then it is expected to imply (c). The preliminary information (a) is that some persons took the comprehensive exam and three (John, Bill, Jim) participated in it. The next information to be sought is about whether they or any of them passed it. In this expectation to occur, (b) specifies that John passed it. Since John is the *nin*-attached element, the other two (Bill, Jim) are interpreted as not having passed the exam by Implication (1).

As already noted, it is widely claimed that the delimiter *nin* (Jap. *wa*) is used to mark contrast. So far no explanation has been offered. The semantic postulates in (7) can explain why *nin* may usually mark contrast. The speaker presupposes the existence of sister members in contrast with the *nin*-attached element. This is the environment in which *nin* is used to mark contrast. One natural connection to (11a) and (11b) will be (12), which is translated into English in (11c):

(12) kiləna, Bill-kwa Jim-in pul-hapkyəkha-assta
but and not-pass past

'But Bill and Jim did not pass it.'

The naturalness of this connection in the discourse comes from the relevant presupposition and its implication postulated in (7).

Implication (1), however, does not necessarily work in all cases. There are cases where Implication (1) may by cancelled (or nullified). Another possible connection to (11a) and (11b) may be (13):

(13) kilәna, Bill-kwa Jim-in moli-kessta.
but and not-know-guess
'But I don't know the result about Bill and Jim.'

By this connection, the speaker has cancelled the implication that the registered sister members don't have the value which the *nin*-attached element has. Expressions of cancellation may precede or follow the main assertion. There may be also implicit cancellation of the implication. In other words, the implication that Bill and Jim did not pass the exam may be cancelled without such an expression as (13) if and only if the context pragmatically guarantees such an implicit expression. Suppose speaker A knows that John, Bill and Jim took the exam, and speaker B knows the result only of John's test. In this context if speaker B utters (11b), this sentence does not imply sentence (11c). In this case, speaker B asserts that as far as John is only concerned, he knows that John passed it. This is the reason why I postulate the assertion that 'the *nin*-attached element is only concerned' in (7).

Implication (1) is widely used in speech acts in Korean (and Japanese). For example, in evaluating a bride in a wedding ceremony, if someone utters a sentence like (14), he implies that her face and the like are not so pretty.

(14) sinpu-ka son-*in* yeppi-ta.
bride hand pretty
'Speaking only of her hands, the bride has beautiful hands.'

In evaluating a person, if someone utters a sentence like (15), he implies that this person's atittude, personality and the like are not good:

(15) ki salam-i məli-*nin* coh-inte,[4]...
that person head good
'Speaking only of the brain, his brain is good…'

In this context if someone else supports the person under evaluation, he must add a sentence like (16) as a natural connection to (15).

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[4] Subordinate conjunction in Korean (and Japanese) is the basic form, and the so-called coordinate conjunction is the pro-formation of the former. In subordinate conjuncton, the conjunctor is attached to the end of the conjunct (i.e. the clause). In this case, the natural connection is made by the following conjunct. But it is possible to leave the second conjunct (i.e. the main clause) out for some reason such as rhetoric purpose, suspense, hesitation, etc. (15) is an example. The hearer (or reader) must fill up the omitted main clause by means of the context. It is interesting to note that if the first conjunct ends up with the conjunctor *ninte* (which becomes *inte* after adjectives), the second conjunct may be connected to the effect either of supporting the semantic content of the first conjunct or of opposing it. Hence, the listener will be in suspense if the speaker puts a pause after the conjunctor *ninte*.

(16) ki salam-i muəs-*in* nappi-na? (rhetoric question)
that person something bad question

'Is there anything bad about the person?' (He is good in every respect.)

Now we turn to Implication (2). This says that unregistered or unexpected sister members in a discourse have nothing to do with the content of Implication (1). For example.

(17) a. hankuk-*in* san-i manh-ta.
Korea mountain exist a lot

'Korea is mountainous.'

b. China is not mountainous.

With no previous talk about Korea and China with respect to mountains, (a) does not imply (b), because in uttering (a) China is not registered. China is neutral with respect to the value of mountainousness.

I will finish the discussion about *nin* (Jap. *wa*) with the following comment. Kusanagi (1971) observes that Japanese *wa* (Kor. *nin*) is the scope indicator in negation. This observation is correct, but the function of scope limitation is not confined to the delimiter *wa* (Kor. *nin*). Other delimiters have the same function, as illustrated in the following:

(18) John-i Mary-lil illyoil-e-{nin, ya,
subj obj sunday on only concerned, taken for granted,

to, man} an manna-nta.
also only not meet

'It is on Sundays that John does not meet Mary.'

If delimiters are attached to the NP *on Sundays*, it negates that NP only, but not the whole sentence. The emphatic stress also has the effect. If the NP *on Sundays* is emphasized, it negates that NP only although no delimiter is attached to it.

## 3. YA 'taken for granted'

When a speaker regards an element as taken for granted in an act or event, he uses the delimiter *ya* (Jap. *wa*) rather than *nin* (Jap. *wa*). Other semantic aspects of *ya* are similar to those of *nin*. I postulate the following semantics of *ya* (Jap. *wa*) 'taken for granted':

(19) **Semantics of *ya***

Presupposition: (1) The *ya*-attached element is registered or expected.

(2) Sister members explicitly or implicitly exist.

Assertion: The *ya*-attached element is taken for granted in an act or event.

Implication: (1) The registered or expected sister members do not have the same value as the *ya*-attached element has.

(2) The unregistered or unexpected sister members are neutral.

The difference between *nin* and *ya* is their assertions. In using *nin* the speaker asserts that the *nin*-attached element is only concerned in a speech act, whereas in using *ya* the speaker asserts that the *ya*-attached element is taken for granted. For example,

(20) a. John-*in* səngkongha-nta.
succeed

'As far as John is only concerned, HE will succeed.'

b. John-*iya* səngkongha-nta.

'It is taken for granted that JOHN will succeed.'

As English translations suggest, *nin* in (a) emphasizes the unique concern about John (i.e. the *nin*-attached element), whereas *ya* in (b) emphasizes the 'taken-for-granted' state about John (i.e. the *ya*-attached element). Note that *ya* does not exclude the assertion of the unique concern, although its emphasizing degree is much lower than that of *nin*. This is the reason why both *nin* and *ya* are cooccurable in the context where the unique concern is guaranteed, as illustrated in the following :

(21) talin salam-*in* moli-kess-ciman, John-{*in, iya*} səngkongha-nta.
other person not-know but succeed

'Although I do not know about other persons, JOHN will succeed.'

The first conjunct *I do not know about other person* guarantees the unique concern about John which occurs in the succeeding conjunct. *John* is compatible with both *nin* and *ya*. On the other hand, *nin* does not exclude the taken-for-granted state although its emphasizing degree is much lower than that of *ya*. For example,

(22) malhal-kəs-to əpsi, John-{*in, iya*} səngkongha-nta.
needless to say succeed

'Needless to say, JOHN will succeed.'

The first conjunct *needless to say* guarantees the taken-for-granted state about John which occurs in the succeeding conjunct. *John* is compatible with both *nin* and *ya*. What is important here is that the primary assertion (i.e. emphasis) absorbs the secondary assertion, so that the primary emphasis (i.e. the unique concern) of *nin* absorbs the secondary emphasis (i.e. the taken-for-granted state), whereas the primary emphasis (i.e. the taken-for-granted state) of *ya* absorbs the secondary emphasis (i.e. the unique concern). This

explains the fact that *nin* and *ya* share their cooccurrence restrictions. Furthermore, their presuppositions and implications are the same. In short, *nin* and *ya* are on the same scale. The difference is their respective emphasizing points (i.e. their respective primary assertions).

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Japanese has only one delimiter *wa* which covers both of Korean *nin* and *ya*. In this respect Japanese is less lexicalized, and to that extent Japanese *wa* may be further decomposable. It seems that when Japanese speakers intend to emphasize the taken-for-granted state with *wa*, they usually put a heavier stress on the *wa*-attached element than when they intend to emphasize the unique concern.

In view of the primary and secondary emphases of *nin* and *ya*, sentences (20a) and (20b), for example, may be logicaly represented as:

(23) a. only concern (taken for granted (X, succeed (X)))
b. taken for granted (only concerned (X, succeed (X)))

If we ignore the secondary assertions in (23), we may simplify (23) as:

(24) a. only concerned (X, succeed (X))
b. taken for granted (X, succeed (X))

Note that these logical representations cover only the assertions of *nin* and *ya*, but not their presuppositions and implications.

## 4. TO 'also, even'

I postulate the following semantics of *to* (Jap. *mo*) 'also, even':

**(25) Semantics of *to***

Presupposition: (1) Registered sister members definitely exist. (i.e. the non-uniqueness of the *to*-attached element).
(2) Some expectation about the *to*-attached element is involved if the element refers to polar values (i.e. extreme cases). (i.e. for 'even' reading).

Assertion: The sister members are not unique. (i.e. the existence of parallel cases).

Implication: (1) The sister members have the same value as the *to*-attached element has.
(2) The expectation about the *to*-attached element is not realized. (i.e. for 'even' reading).

Presupposition (1) says that if one element has delimiter *to* (Jap. *mo*) in a sentence,

then there must be at least a sister sentence where the same proposition is expressed. In other words, *to* signals that it is not unique in a certain proposition. Presupposition (1) may be rephrased as: *to* is used to the element which is uniquely different from the preceding sentence. Consider the following. The symbol '*/d' refers to a sentence which is anomalous in the strict context of a given discourse; otherwise, nothing anomalous:

(26) a. John-{i, in, iya} kimchi-lil cohaha-nta.
subj, only-concerned, taken-for-granted obj like

'John likes kimchi.'

b. Mary-*to* kimchi-lil cohaha-nta.
also

'MARY likes kimchi, too.'

c. John-i kimchi-*to* cohaha-nta.

'John likes KIMCHI, too.'

d. */d Mary-*ka* kimchi-lil cohaha-nta.
subj

'It is Mary but not *anybody* else who likes kimchi.'

e. */d John-i kochucang-*il* cohaha-nta.
pepper-soy-bean like

'It is Korean pepper-soy-bean but not anything else that John likes.'

Suppose (a) is the first sentence, and the others are immediately following sentences. In this context the speaker who utters sentences (b) or (c) is cooperative in the communication. The discourse pair (a) and (b), or (a) and (c) have uniquely different elements, and the succeeding sentences have the delimiter *to* 'also' assigned to the element. On the other hand, (d) and (e) which are supposed to immediately follow (a) are anomalous. If we disregard the strict discourse context, they are perfectly grammatical and non-anomalous. However, in the strict discourse context they are not natural; the speaker who utters (d) or (e) in this context is not cooperative in the communication. If the speaker utters (d) or (e) instead of (b) or (c), he asserts that it is Mary but not anybody else who likes kimchi (d), and it is Korean pepper-soy-bean but not anything else that John likes (e).

The above is the most naive example where *to* (Jap. *mo*, Eng. *also*) is used. The scope of the use of *to* is much broader than usually conceived. In the above example we have observed that the context for *to* is the second sentence where one element is different from the first sentence. However, this syntactic restriction can be loosened if and only if the paired sentences have the identical semantic goal. For example,

(27) a. Mary-ka atil-il nah-assəyo.
subj son obj give birth
'Mary gave birth to a son.'

b. Susie-*to* atil-il nah-assəyo.
also
'Susie gave birth to a son, too.'

c. Susie-*to* ttal-il nah-assəyo.
also daughter
'Susie gave birth to a daughter, too.'

(a) and (b), and (a) and (c) are discourse pairs. (b) is a normal case where only one element is different from (a), hence *to* is appropriately attached to Susie. Notice that two elements are different between (a) and (c), that is, Mary and a son vs. Susie and a daughter. In a usual sense, (c) is not a cooperative utterence to (a), violating one-element-difference principle. Now suppose the following situation. Mary's mother-in-law boasts of her daughter-in-law's (i.e. Mary's) having given birth to a baby, especially a son. To this Susie's mother-in-law also boasts of her daughter-in-law's (i.e. Susie's) having given birth to a baby(although it is a daughter). Regardless of the sex of a baby, if Susie's mother-in-law also boasts of the event that her daughter-in-law has given birth to a baby, the speaker (i.e. Susie's mother-in-law) regards both deliveries as having the same semantic goal. In this case, sentence (c) is a perfectly natural response to sentence (a). This clearly shows that not only the discourse context but also the speaker's intention on the focal point are relevant to determine the occurrence of delimiter *to* (Jap. *mo*, Eng. *also*).

Take the following sentences for another example:

(28) a. ki hakkyo-nin pongkip-i manh-teyo.
the school salary big they-say
'It is said that the school's pay is good.'

b. ki hakkyo-nin hakseng-til-i kongpu-*to* an ha-nteyo.
the school students study also not do they-say
'It is said that students of the school do not study hard, either.'

In a usual case, the fact that the school's pay is good has no direct connection with the fact that the students of the school do not study hard. Hence the second sentence does not allow *to*. However, if the speaker is interested in one common semantic factor abstracted from both sentences (a) and (b), he has to use *to* in the second sentence. One very possible common semantic factor is that professors of the school get benefits from the good salary

in sentence (a) and they get benefits from students' cutting classes in (b). (i.e. easy teaching). If the speaker has this common semantic factor in mind (i.e. getting benefits), sentence (b) with *to* is perfectly natural.

It seems that this semantic sloppy identity is universally operative. For example in English,

(29) a. John took the mid-term exam, and I took the final exam too.
b. John gave a book to Bill, and I gave a book to Mary too.

In (a) two elements are different; John and mid-term in the first conjunct vs. I and the final exam in the second conjunct. But the second conjunct may allow the word *too* if and only if the speaker's focal point is in taking the exam regardless of mid-term or final term. In (b) two elements are different; John and to Bill in the first conjunct vs. I and to Mary in the second conjunct. But the second conjunct may allow the word *too* if and only if the speaker's focal point is in giving a book to somebody. McCawley(1972a:42) independently observes the same phenomenon in English. He states that the word *too* (or *also*) is to be interpreted as covering not only simple cases where the clauses are parallel as in (30a) but also cases where the clauses are not parallel but the first clause, in combination with assumptions made by the speaker, implies something parallel to the second clause as in (30b):

(30) a. John smokes hashish, and Bill smokes hashish too.
b. John smokes hashish, and Bill is a hippie too.

In my terms, the same semantic factor in (30b) is smoking hashish in the first conjunct and smoking hashish in the second conjunct which is implied by being a hippie. If a hippie is not understood to smoke hashish, (30b) is totally out because of the word *too*.

The following example is also interesting. Two persons are now in a bus. When one wants to get off the bus, he will say to the other, "Goodbye." To this utterence, the other person will reply, "I am getting off too." The occurrence of the word *too* in the second sentence is explained by the fact that the first utterence conversationally entails, "I am getting off now."

Thus far we have examined the occurrence of *to* (Jap. *mo*) in discourse non-initial sentences. Now we will discuss the occurrence of *to* in discourse-initial sentences. For example,

(31) nalssi-*to* an coh-kessta.
weather also not good guess

'Gee, the weather will not be good, either.'

This sentence may occur as soon as the speaker wakes up, opens the window, and looks at the sky, only on the presupposition that many things will be unfavorable in doing some intended thing or business. Since presupposition precedes the real utterence in terms of mental time sequence, the discourse-intial sentence (31) is in fact not a discourse-intial sentence but a sequential sentence. This fact also implies that the occurrence of *to* in a sentence like (31) is explained only by implicit semantic factors rather than formal clues. From the hearer's point of view, a sentence like (31) necessarily implies that some other things will not be favorable to the speaker. This implication comes from Implication (1) postulated in (25).

There is another type of occurrence of *to*, which I call the reciprocal *to*. Reciprocity works backwards as well as forwards, that is, the first conjunct assigns *to* to the second conjunct and vice versa. For example,

(32) a. Mary-nin ppong-*to* tta-ko nim-*to*
mulberry-leaf-also pick-off and lover also
pol-kyəm pakk-ilo naka-assta.
see in-addition outside go-out past
'Mary went out in order to meet her lover as well as to pick off mulberry-leaves.'

b. John-in cip-*to* əps-ko, cəl-*to* əps-ta.
house also have-not and temple also have-not
'John has neither a house nor a temple (which is likened here to a shelter).'
(John has no shelter whatsoever to live in.)

c. John-in cip-*to* cəl-*to* əps-ta.
'John has no shelter whatsoever to live in.'

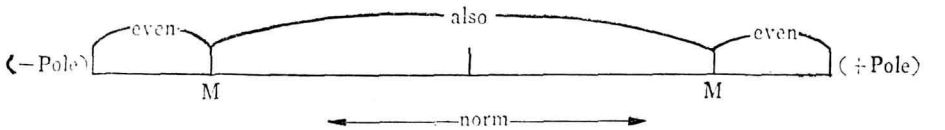
In (a) the first conjunct assigns *to* to the NP *nim* 'lover' and the second conjunct assigns *to* to the NP *ppong* 'mulberry-leaf' in a manner of reciprocity. Usually conjoined sentences are utterred by the same speaker (except when more than one person participates in a dialogue for a dramatic performance). Only conjoined sentences may allow the reciprocal *to*. This phenomenon is not accidental. Since conjoined sentences are under the simultanous scope of speech act at a time, the speaker can assign the delimiter *to* bidirectionally at the same time. Otherwise, the assignment of delimiter *to* is unidirectional in a manner as the preceding sentence assigns *to* to the following sentence. Sentence (b) has two *to*'s just as (a) has. Notice that (b) is further conjunctively reducible as in (c) under the condition that the two conjuncts have identical predicates.

Now we turn to Presupposition (2) postulated in (25), which says that some expectation about the *to*-attached element is involved if it refers to polar values (i.e. extreme cases) in connection with the 'even' reading. For example,

(33) John-i ton-*to* əps-ta.
subj money even have-not
'John does not even have money.'

This sentence may occur as a discourse-initial sentence. When the speaker utters this sentence, he necessarily emphasizes that John does not have money. This emphasis results from the fact that when the speaker utters this sentence, he presupposes that John does not have A,B,C,…, nor *even* money, In this connection, it is interesting to explore how the word *even* is generated. The words *also* and *even* are on the same axis. When the accumulation of the conditions for *also* reaches a certain point on the positive or negative side of the axis, *also* becomes *even*. When the condition of *also* reaches the *even* point, the speaker expects something. The difference between *also* and *even* is that *even* is equivalent to *also* plus a polar value plus some expectation. This statement may be graphically shown as:

(34) Generation of *even*




On the axis, from the norm point to certain points (e.g. the M points on both sides). the word *also* covers. But beyond the M points, the word *even* is used. Of course, the M point is not a fixed one; it is movable by factors such as culture, social background, sex, age, mental status, etc. For example,

(35) The student does not *even* make a bow to the teacher.

In a society where a student is not be supposed to great his teacher when they meet, the word *even* in this sentence makes no sense, since a student is not expected to do so. On the other hand, in a society where a student is supposed to make a bow to his teacher when they meet, the word *even* in this sentence is fully significant, since a student is expected to do so. This is just one example which shows the movability of the M point in the diagram.

In English, *also* is formally distinguished from *even*. But Korean and Japanese have not lexicalized them separately, instead there is no surface difference. Whether Korean *to* (Jap. *mo*) refers to *also* or *even* depends upon the context. For example,

(36) a. chənce-*to* kɨ munce-lɨl phu-lsu-əps-ta
genius even the problem obj solve can-not
'Even a genius cannot solve the problem.'

b. na-*to* kɨ munce-lɨl phu-lsu-əps-ta.
I also/even
(1) 'I cannot solve the problem, either.'
(2) 'Even I cannot solve the problem.'

(a) provides a context where the *to*-attached element *genius* must be interpreted as *even* rather than *also*, because a genius is generally expected to solve even difficult problems. In contrast, (b) is ambiguous as to the interpretation of *na* 'I'. If I am a normal man, *to* is interpreted as *also*. If I am in an acadmic position, expected to solve the problem, *to* is interpreted as *even*.

It should be noted that *even* covers both Presuposition (1) and (2) as well as Implication (1) and (2) postulated in (25). But *also* cannot cover Presupposition (2) and its corresponding Implication (2). For example, (36a) presupposes that there exist some others who cannot solve the problem, and that a genius is usually expected to solve the problem. (36a) implies that some others can not solve the problem either, and that the expectation that a genius can solve the problem is not realized.

When the minimum expectation is not realized, the form *X-to epsi/anhko* 'even without X/ doing X' is used. For example,

(37) a. Mary-ka *sosik-to* *əpsi* ttəna-assta.
subj notice-even without leave past
'Mary left even without any notice in advance.'

b. John-i *sesu-to* *anhko* achim-pap-ɨl mək-ninta.
subj washing-even without breakfast obj eat
'John eats breakfast without even washing his face (and hands).'

This emphatic form is in contrast with the form *X-na issi/hako* 'even with X/ doing X', which will be discussed in connection with delimiter *na* in section 6.

McCawley (1972b:535) argues that one type of universal quantification in Japanese is formed from an indefinite pronoun plus delimiter *mo* (Kor. *to*) 'also'. This will be discussed in connection with delimiter *na* (Jap. *demo*) in section 6.

## 5. MAN 'only, exactly; limitation'

I postulate the following semantics of the delimiter *man* (Jap. *dake*):

(38) **Semantics of *man***

Presuppositon: Registered or expected sister members exist. (i.e. the non-uniqueness of the *man*-attached element).

Assertion: (1) The *man*-attached element is unique (i.e. exclusive).

(2) The *man*-attached element is the limitation.

(3) The *man*-attached element is exactly defined.

Implication: (1) Registered sister members have the opposite value (for 'only' reading and 'exactly' reading).

(2) Higher members have the same value as the *man*-attached element has (for 'limitation' reading).

Presupposition here says that there exist sister members other than the *man*-attached element, so that the element is not unique in the speech act. Horn (1969) says that the English word *only* asserts uniqueness while the English words *also* and *even* presuppose non-uniqueness. It seems that the word *only* also presupposes non-uniqueness. If only one element exists in the speech act, there is no reason to use the word *only*.

Assertioin (1) says that the *man*-attached element is unique in action or event, so that it necessarily implies that registered memers have the opposite value. For example,

(39) a. John-*man* Mary-lil salanghanta.
only obj love

'Only John loves Mary,'

b. John-i Mary-ii son-*man* cap-assta,
subj of hand only touch past

'John touched only Mary's hands.'

(a) presupposes that there are persons other than John, and asserts that it is only John that loves Mary, and implies that the others do not love Mary. (b) presupposes that it is possible for John to touch Mary's face, lips, etc., and asserts that it was Mary's hands that he touched, and implies that John did not kiss Mary, for example.

The delimiter *man* has the 'exactly' (i.e. limitation) reading too. In this reading, *man* asserts that the *man*-attached element is the limitation (i.e. no more, no less), and implies that the higher members have the same value as the *man*-attached element has. For example,

(40) a. tə-to təl-to mal-ko, cuncang-*man* toe-myən,
no-more no-less and one-star-general only become if

party-lil yəl-kessta.
obj open will

'If I become exactly a one-star general, I will have a party.'

b. tə-to təl-to mal-ko, pek-pul-*man* ilh-imyən, ki-man ha-kessta.
no-more no-less and 100-dollar only lose if stop will

'If I lose exactly 100 dollars, I will stop (gambling).'

The first conjunct in both (a) and (b), which says 'no more, no less', provides a context where the *man*-attached element has limitation. The limitation is the target point at which the continuing activity or event will be changed. In (a) I will not have a party until I become a one-star general, which is the target point to have a party. Suppose I became a two-star general by directly being promoted from a colonel, then I will have a party. This is explained by Impllcation (2) which says that higher members have the same value as the *man*-attached element has. In (b) losing one hundred dollars is the target point at which I will stop gambling. Up to ninety-nine dollars of losing, I continue. But if I lose one hundred dollars, then I will stop gambling. Supose I lost one hundred and one dollars by directly jumping from ninety-nine dollars of losing. In this case, I will stop gambling too. This fact is explained by Implication(2).

Note that the 'exactly' reading and 'limitation' reading are pragmatically determined. For example, the following sentence does not allow the 'limitation' reading but allows the 'exactly' reading:

(41) na-nin chek-il tu-kwon-*man* sa-kessta.
I book obj two-copy only buy will
'I will buy exactly two books only'_____.

This sentence asserts that I will buy neither less than two books nor more than two books.

At this point it will be instructive to introduce Horn's(1969) observation. He says that (a) asserts both (c) and (d) while (b) presupposes (c) and asserts (d): (42) a. exactly 13, b. only 13, c. at least 13, d. at most 13. In logical terms, the assertion of the word 'exactly' may be represented as: $(Ex)\sim(x<13)$ & $(Ex)\sim(x>13)$. It is interesting to note that there are cases where the expression of a quantifier plus the delimiter *man* gives us the impression of reduced quantity, but never of increased quantity. For example, when somebody asks somebody else to lend him some money, it is customary to use the delimiter *man* regardless of the amount:

(43) a. pek-won-*man* pillyə-cu-seyo.
100 only let-me-borrow

'Would you lend me just 100 won?'

b. pek-man-won-*man* pillyə-cu-seyo.
one-million only

'Would you lend me 1,000,000 won only?'

These sentences are ambiguous between the 'exactly' reading and the 'only' reading. For the 'exactly' reading, it is customary to add the adverb *kkok* 'exactly' which modifies the delimiter *man*. (Note that this adverb may modify the verb in the sense of 'without fail'.) Our concern here is the 'only' reading. In the lending/borrowing situation, if the speaker does not use delimiter *man*, he (i.e. the borrower) sounds less polite as a person who begs for a loan. An interesting question is why the speaker (i.e. the borrower) uses *man* 'only' in this occasion. The answer seems to be that if the amount asked for sounds little, then the chance for the lender to lend the money will be more favorable. This pragmatic use of *man* is closely connected to a psychological strategy. The question to be answered is why *man* gives us a reduced feeling of quantity. In order to solve this question, let us look at Horn's observation (42) again. It says that only X asserts at most X but not at least X'. This observation gives us a good clue to solve the question. I think that the pragmatics of lending/borrowing excludes (42c) and preserves (42d), such that the *man*-attached numeral is emphasized towards the 'at-most' side rather than the 'at-least' side.

There is another type of situation where the *man*-attached numeral gives us the impression that the numeral is reduced. In the case of shopping, it is true that the shopkeeper (i.e. the seller) tries to get more money while the customer (i.e. the buyer) tries to pay less. One way for the seller to achieve this objective is to give the buyer the impression that he sells articles at a reduced price. In this case the seller always attaches the delimiter *man* to the price. For example,

(44) (buyer) a. i-kəs əlma-yo? 'How much is it?'
this how much

(seller) b. pek-won-*man* ne-seyo. 'Pay 100 won only.'
100 only pay

(seller) c. pek-won i-yo. '(The price) is 100 won.'
100 be

The seller may respond to the customer's question (a) with either (b) or (c). In case he responds with (c), he tells the exactly fixed price. On the other hand, in case he responds with (b), he implies that the charging price is more than one hundred won but he will charge one hundred won only by giving the buyer some discount. An expression like *120*

*won i-nte* 'it is 120 won but' cannot precede (c) but it can precede (b). Actually, such an expression is omitted in (b). The seller may utter (b) out of goodwill or in order to coax the customer. The delimiter *man* (Jap. *dake*) has the corresponding negative-polarity delimiter *pakke* (Jap. *sika*). The equivalence relation sometimes holds but sometimes does not, depending upon pragmatic factors:

(45) a. man $\equiv$ ~pakke b. man $\not\equiv$ ~pakke

Consider the following:

(46) a. nə-*man* on-əla. 'You alone, come!'
you only come

a′. nə-*pakke* o-ci-ma-la. '(Nobody except you) come!'
you come not

b. na-nin 500-won-*man* iss-ta. 'I have only 500 won.'
I only have

b′. na-nin 500-won-*pakke* əps-ta. 'I have no more than 500 won.'
I have-not

(47) a. ton-i 1,000-won-*man* iss-ass-imyən !
money only exist wish

'I wish I had at least 1,000 won!'

a′. ton-i 1,000-*pakke* əps-əss-imyən !
have-not

'I wish I had at most 1,000 won!'

b. (an answer to 'How much is it?'): 100-won-*man* ne-seyo. 'Pay 100 won only.'
only pay

b′. (an answer to 'How much is it?'): * 100-won-*pakke* ne-ci-ma-seyo.
pay not

'Don't pay more than 100 won.'

In (46), (a) and (a′), and (b) and (b′) seem to have equivalence relation, although the negative-polarity expression is a bit more emphatic. On the other hand, the equivalence relation does not hold in (47). Their assertions are different. For example, (47a) assserts the 'at-least' side while (47a′) asserts the 'at-most' side. (47b) may be used by the seller to the customer in order to give him an impression of reduction. But the seller does not use (47b′) to the customer, since *pakke* does not function to give the buyer an impression of reduction. If (47b′) is addressed to the second person to pay the amount to some third party (but not to the seller himself), it is perfectly non-anomalous.

Unlike the negative-polarity delimiter *pakke*, *man* may co-occur either in affirmative or in

(negative) sentences. A sentence which contains *man* may be formally negated in two ways: the internal negation and the external negation. (48a) is an example of internal negation while (48b) is that of external negation:

(48) a. John-*man* Mary-lil {an tteli-əssta, tteli-ci an he-ssta}.
only obj not hit past hitting no do pas

(1) 'It is only John who did not hit Mary.'

(2) 'It is not only John who hit Mary.'

b. John-*man* Mary-ii ttelin-kəs-i an i-ta.
only obj hitting subj not be

'It is not the case that only John hit Mary.'
(It is not only John who hit Mary.)

Notice that (a) is ambiguous between internal and external negations. This shows that the syntactic internal negation of the *man*-sentence produces the semantic external as well as internal negation. However, the syntactic external negation of the *man*-sentence (b) does not produce such an ambiguity; it has only the semantic external negation which is synonymous with one of the two readings of (a). The ambiguity of (48a) may be logically represented as in (49a) and (49b). The semantic external negation necessarilly implies 'but also' as in (49c):

(49) a. semantic internal negation: only (John, ∼hit (John, Mary)

b. semantic external negation: ∼only (John, hit (John, hit (John, Mary))

c. implication of semantic external negation: not only X ⊃ but also Y

Korean has two negation morphemes: *ani, mos.* The former marks the normal negation, while the latter the negation where the circumstances do not allow some act or event. If we replace *ani* with *mos* in (48a), the ambiguity does not arise: it has only the semantic internal negation. The two negation morphemes behave differently with respect to the application of Neg-Transportation. *Ani* allows the rule, but *mos* does not.

Unlike the relation between *nin* and *ya* discussed in sections 2 and 3, *to* 'alsor, even' discussed in section 4 is opposite to *man* under discussion in this section, with respect to their assertions. This fact is related to Japanese lexicalization of some delimiters. Korean *nin* and *ya* correspond to one Japanese delimiter *wa*, but Korea *to* and *man* correspond to Japnnese *mo* and *dake*, respectively. As we will see in the remaining sections, Korean *na* and *lato* corresound to one Japanese delimiter *demo*.

## 6. NA 'rather, at least'

I postulate the following semantics of delimiter *na* 'rather, at least' (Jap. *demo*):

(50) **Semantics of *na***

Presupposition: (1) The choice is potentially still open.

(2) The *na*-attached element is the sample to show a certain degree.

Assertion: The *na*-attached element compensates for the ideal primary choice which is not available.

Implication: The *na*-attached element is neither the best choice nor the last recourse. (i.e. The *na*-attached element is the second best choice.)

Presupposition (1) says that the choice of the *na*-attached element is potentially not the final choice, but the choice is still open. The status of the open set results from the fact that the form *na* also has the disjunction function. When *na* is used to mark the disjunction 'or', it has two sub-contexts, i.e., a closed set and an open set, as illustrated in (51) and (52), respectively:

(51) *Closed set*

a. thoyoil-e-*na* illyoil-e manna-psita.
saturday-on or sunday-on meet let-us
'Let us meet on Saturday or on Sunday.'

b. sokim-*ina* kancang-*ina* kochucang-il cu-seyo.
salt or soy-sauce or pepper-soy-bean obj give-me
'Let me have salt or soy-sauce or Korean pepper-soy-bean.'

c. ki namu-lil thop-ilo-*na* tokki-lo pe-seyo.
the tree obj saw with or axe with cut
'Cut the tree with a saw or with an axe.'

(52) *Open set (n-tuple case)*[5]

a. thoyoil-e-*na* illyoil-e-*na* manna-psita.
saturday-on or sunday-on or meet let-us
'Let us meet on Saturday or on Sunday (or on some other day).'

b. sokim-*ina* kancang-*ina* kochucang-*ina* cu-seyo.
salt or soy-sauce or pepper-soy-bean or give-me
'Let me have salt or soy-sauce or Korean pepper-soy-bean (or something like that).'

[5] In Japanese, open sets in the n-tuple case are reprented with *ka* rather than *demo*. But open sets in the antonym case (53) are represented with *demo*.

c. ki namu-lil thop-ilo-*na* tokki-lo*i*-*na* pe-seyo.
the tree obj saw-with or axe-with or cut

'Cut the tree with a saw or with an axe (or with something like that).'

Let us examine (51) first. Sentences (51) have the overall structure of *A-na B-na…Z* 'A or B or…Z'. The choice is closed in that only the enumerated members may be chosen. Any other expectable member which is not enumerated may not be chosen. For example, in (51a) their meeting day is limited either to Saturday or Sunday; other week-days are excluded from the choice. In (51b), for seasoning the choice must be made from salt, soy-sauce and Korean pepper-soy-bean. Other items are excluded from the choice. In (51c), in cutting the tree, tools are limited to a saw or an axe; other tools are excluded from the choice.

On the other hand, in (52) the choice is not closed but potentially open such that similar members other than the enumerated ones may be chosen although the chance to choose covert members is very low. Notice the formal difference between the examples of the closed set (51) and the open set (52). Examples (52) have the overall pattern of *A-na B-na … Z-na* 'A or B or … Z or'. Unlike the pattern of the closed choice, the last term Z of the open choice is not closed but is connected with *na* 'or'. This mans that Z is the overt final term but further covert terms are merely not enumerated. For example, in (52a) their meeting day is most likely to be Saturday, or Sunday, but some other day is not necessarily excluded. Suppose the next Monday is a holiday. In this case their meeting day may be even Monday if they somehow agree that Monday is more convenient in their ensuing discussion. Likewise, in (52b) if the restaurant is out of salt, soy-sauce and Korean pepper-soy-bean, the customer will be satisfied with some other substitutes. In (52c) if both a saw and an axe are not available, some other tools such as a chisel will be the alternatives used.

Examples of (52) are open sets with n-tuples. If an open set is composed of antonyms, it makes up a universal quantification. For example.[6]

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[6] This use of *na* is related to the conjunctor *na* of the following case:

John-in o-*na* ka-*na* malsəng i-ta 'John is a troble-maker whether he comes or goes (i.
come-or go-or trouble-maker be

e. wherever he is).' khokkili-ka biscuit hana mək-*ina* ma-*na* kath-ta 'It is the same whether
elephant subj one eat or not or same

or not an elephant eats one bisciut (i.e. One biscuit cannot make an elephant feel full).'

It should be noted that the expression of open sets in antonym cases may be used for the sense of 'either A or B'. For example, nac-*ina* pam-*ina* sangkwan əps-ta 'It makes no diff-
day or night or correlation have-not

erence whether we do it in the daytime or at night.'

(53) *Open set (antonym case)*

a. John-in nac-e-*na* pam-e-*na* kongpu-man ha-nta.
daytime or night or study only do

'John does nothing but study day or night.' (always)

b. namca-*na* yəca-*na* ta kathin inkan i-ta.
man or woman or all same human-being be

'Both men and women are all human beings in the same sense.' (all)

In (a), when we divide a day into the antonym pair of daytime and night, enumeration with an open set produces a universal quantification of time to the effect of 'always' or 'all the time', because the members of the set are exhaustively enumerated. If the antonym pair is enumerated with a closed set like *nac-e-na pam-e* 'in the daytime or at night,' such a universal quantification does not result. In (b), when we divide human beings into the antonym pair of men and women, exhaustive enumeration with an open set produces a universal quantification of human beings to the effect of 'all human beings'.

A parallel mechanism also exists in the conjunction *wa* (which becomes *kwa* after consonants) 'and'. If a conjunction is formed in the fashion of a closed set like *A-wa B-wa* ··· *Z* 'A and B and ··· Z', the referents are confined only to overtly enumerated terms. But if a conjunction is formed in the fashion of an opens et like *A-wa B-wa* ··· *Z-wa* 'A and B and ··· Z and', the referents are not only the overtly enumerated terms but also the covertly expectable terms. We often find such titles as *san-kwa pata-wa* 'mountains and rivers and' in a poem or in painting. This kind of title gives us the feeling that the theme is not exhaustive but further themes are omitted. This title is interpreted not as mountains and rivers but as mountains and rivers and something else such as love.[7] Note that conjunction is not formed in the fashion of antonymous open set. And universal quantification is formed only by disjunction which is formed by an antonymous open set. Quantification will be resumed at the end of this section.

Now returning to Presupposition (1) which says that the choice is potentially still open, this presupposition can be accounted for by the disjunctive nature of the delimiter *na* (Jap.

[7] The form ***hako*** 'and, with' and ***wa*** 'and, with' may be used alternatively in many cases, but there are cases where one of them is not allowed. For example, the ***hako*** from expresses only the sense of the closed set whether it is in the closed set or in the open set: John-***hako*** Tom-***hako*** o-assta 'John and Tom came'; John-***hako*** Tom-i o-assta 'John and Tom came.' Note that the ***wa*** form in an open set expresses the sense of a closed set in a specific expression as: nə-***wa*** na-***wa*** tul-i-sə··· 'Two you and I and two subi of us you and I···'

*demo*), as we have observed in the above. The form *A-na* 'A or' seems to be the reduced form of *A-na B-na* ··· *Z-na* 'A or B or ··· Z or'. It is easily conceivable that the overtly enumerated elements are more likely to be chosen than the covertly expectable elements. Furthermore, since the *na*-attached element is the uniquely enumerated one out of the open set, that element is most likely to be chosen as compared with covert elements. But the possibility of covert elements to be chosen is not necessarily eliminated. For example,

(54) a. nə-nin him-i yakha-nikka, i kapyəun kəs-*ina* nall-ala.
you energy weak since this light thing carry
'Carry this light one because you are not strong enough.'

b. nə-nin him-i se-nikka, i mukəun kəs-*ina* nall-ala.
you energy strong since this heavy thing carry
'Carry this heavy one because you are strong enough.'

c. olenman i-ta. sul-in itta ha-ko, coffee-*na* hancan ha-ca.
long-time-since liquor later do and one-cup do
'It has been a long time since. Let us have a cup of coffe first; we will drink later.'

d. hal il-i əps-inikka, cam-*ina* ca-ya-kessta.
do-worth thing have-not since sleeping sleep must
'I would rather sleep since I have nothing particular to do now.'

(a) describes a situation where some persons carry things, and the speaker asks a person who is not strong enough to carry a light one. The choice to carry things is not necessarily confined to light ones because of the disjunctive character of the delimiter *na*. But it is most likely for the person to carry a light object since the light ones are uniquely enumerated out of different categories of heaviness. (c) describes a situation where old friends meet and one proposes the other to have a drink. The proposer specifies coffee out of alternatives, leaving the possibility to choose some other drink. (d) describes a situation where there is nothing particular to do now, so that sleeping is specified as a sample way to spend time. Covert alternatives may be playing cards, idling a way, etc. Consider (b), where the speaker asks the addressee to carry rather heavy objects out of different categories of heaviness. This example shows that the use of *na* is not confined to the lower points of the scale, but both sides of the scale. In all of these examples, if the speaker regards the *na*-attached elements as the definite choices, he will never use the delimiter *na:* instead, he will use the accusative marker *lil* (which becomes *il* after consonants) (Jap. *o*) which marks the object NP in the above examples. This statement, however, must not be

understood to the effect that if an element allows the accusative marker, then that element does not allow the delimiter *na* (or any other delimiter). On the surface, they are not compatible, but the truth is that the nominative marker *ka* · (which becomes *i* after consonants) (Jap. *ga*) and the accusative marker *lil* are obligatorily deleted before any delimiter (cf. Yang 1972a). In other words, *A-lil-na* obligatorily becomes *A-na*. This view is correct, since the *na*-attached elements in the above examples have the information of the accusative marker (i.e. the object NP) although the case marker is not realized on the surface.

Note that the choice of the *na*-attached element potentially is not the primary (or the most favorable, or the best) one. As indicated in the preceding paragraph, if the choice is definitely the primary one, the delimiter *na* may not be allowed. This fact is related to the Implication postulated in (50), which says that the *na*-attached element is neither the best nor the last recourse. All of this is also related to the Assertion postulated in (50), which says that the speaker regards the *na*-attached element as compensation for the primary choice which is not available. In other words, the speaker compensates the most favorable choice (which is not available to be chosen) by the *na*-attached element.

Presupposition (2) says that the *na*-attached element is the sample to show a certain degree. The degree in doing an activity or an event may refer to either higher points or lower ones. For example,

(55) a. ilən əlyəun munce-nin chənce-*na* phu-lsu-issta.[8]
this-like hard problem genius solve can

'A difficult problem like this can be solved by a man such as a genius.'

b. i pən-e-nin il-ting-*ina* he-po-seyo.
this time number one. do try

'This time, try to obtain a thing such as the first prize.'

c. sənsengnim-in tethonglyəng-e-*na* chulmahe-po-seyo.
sir presidency to run-for try

'Sir, try to run for an office such as the presidency.'

All of these examples provide a situation where the *na*-attached element is the highest value in the act or event in question; a genius in (a), the first prize in (b), and the presidency in (c). In cases like these, the *na*-attached element is the sample to show the degree in question. One way to show the degree is the phrase 'such as' in

[8] Japanese sentences like (55a) allow *dake* 'only', but not *demo*, whereas *demo* is used in Japanese sentences like (55b,c).

English, as shown in the English translations. Note that these examples in the above show the highest degree; hence alternative samples are not easy to find.

The degree in the above examples is a higher one. The degree may also be a lower one. When we discussed the delimiter *to* (Jap. *mo*) 'also, even' in section 4, it was noted that the English expression 'even without X/doing X' is *X-to əpsi/anhko*. The corresponding opposite expression is *X-na issi/hako* 'at least with X/doing X'. This is the expression for a minimum requirement, and the *na*-attached element is the sample for the minimum requirement. For example,

(56) a. son-*ina* siss-ko, siksa-lil ha-la.
hand wash and eating obj do
'At least wash your hands and then eat.'

b. sum-*ina* swi-ko, malha-la.
breath breathe and speak
'At least take a breath and then speak.'

c. kyəlhon-*ina* ha-ko, tongkəha-la.
marriage do and live-together
'At least, get married and then stay together.'

In (a), minimum pre-requisites for eating may be washing hands, getting dressed, etc. Washing hands is enumerated as the sample. As Presupposition (1) suggests, the enumeration of a sample does not potentially exclude alternatives. For example, instead of washing hands, the speaker may choose getting dressed for the *na*-attached element. Which will be chosen in the real speech act depends upon the context and the speaker's focus point. In (b), the minimum pre-requisite in speaking is to take a breath. Depending upon the context and the speaker's intention, the sampling varies for the pre-requisite in speaking. For example, getting dressed, or looking at the audience may be the alternative sample. In (c), getting married is sampled as the pre-requisite for staying together with the lover.

The expression of degree by the delimiter *na* is also operative in numerals. When *na* is used with a higher point, the speaker is interpreted as magnifying the numeral. On the other hand, when *na* is used with a lower point, the speaker is interpreted as emphasizing the at-least sense. For example,[9]

(57) (son to father) a. apəci, 100-won-*man* cu-seyo.
father only give-me

[9] Japanese sentences like (57b) allow *mo* rather than *demo*, and those like (57c) prefer *gurai-demo* to *demo*.

'Daddy, give me just 100 won'.

(father to son) b. 100-won-*ina* cu-la-ko?
give do-you-ask

'Are you asking me for as much as 100 won (too much)?'

b.′ ana 50-won. 'Here is 50 won for you.'
here-you-are

(son to father) c. kiləmyən, 70-won-*ina* cu-seyo.
then give-me

'Then, let me have at least as much as 70 won.'

In section 5, we noted that the *man*-attached element gives us the feeling of reduction. In (a) where a son asks his father to give him 100 won, he uses the delimiter *man*. The reason is that the feeling of the reduced amount makes more probable the chance that the father will grant him the requested amount. To this request, the father responds to his son, using the delimiter *na* in (b). This time, the father is magnifying the 100 won to show his son that the requested amount is too much. Notice that the magnified numeral (i. e. the *na*-attached numeral) has a rising pitch, In (b′), the father offers his son 50 won. To this the son utters (c), using the delimiter *na*. This time, the *na*-attached numeral (i.e. 70 won) is the minimum requested amount in the son's mind. Notice that the *na*-attached numeral with the at-least sense has a falling pitch.

It should be noted that unit numbers may not be used for magnification. For example,[10]

(58) a. i hakkyo-esə-nin koting-kosi-e tu-myəng-*ina* hapkyəkhe-ssta.
this school-from higher-civil-service-exam two-person pass past

'As many as two students of this school have passed the higher civil service exam.'

b. * i hakkyo-esə-nin koting-kosi-e han-myəng-*ina* hapkyəkhe-ssta
one-person

'As many as one studenet of this school has passed the higher civil service exam.'

c. i hakkyo-esə-nin koting-kosi-e han-myəng-*ina* hapkyəkhe-ssimyən!
one-person wish

'I wish at least one student of this school had passed the higher civil service exam.

One of the hardest exams in Korea is the higher civil service exam. If a school has two

[10] Japanese sentences like (58a) allow *mo* 'even' instead of *demo*, like the case of (57b).

students who have passed the exam, the number two might be regarded as a big number in the light of the difficulty of the exam. Hence the number two may be magnified with delimiter *na*. However, number one cannot be magnified, since number one is the unit in counting persons, as illustrated in (b). As (c) shows, number one can be used to refer to the at-least sense. The unit number varies according to the numerical counter. In counting person, number one is the unit, but in counting liquid, one bottle is not necessarily the unit number. Hense, one bottle of liquor may be used to refer to the magnified sense.

Now we deal with quantification in connection with the delimiters *na* and *to* 'also' which was discussed in section 4. Let me introduce McCawley's (1972b: 535) observation first. He argues that quantifiers and conjunctions (which are usually called conjuhctors) are special cases of the same thing, and that universal quantifiers are identified with *and* and existential quansifiers with *or*. He adduces evidence from Japanese. In Japanese, universal quanrifiers are formed from indefinite pronouns plus *mo* (Kor. *to*), and *mo* is used for the *and* of sentence conjunction. For example, *itu-mo* 'always' is formed with *itu* 'sometime' plus *mo* 'also', and *doko-mo* 'everywhere' is formed with *doko* 'somewhere' plus *mo* 'also'. On the other hand, existential quantifiers are formed from indefinite pronouns plus *ka* (Kor. *inka* which becomes *nka* after vowels), and *ka* is used for *or*. For example, *itu-ka* 'sometime' is formed with *itu* 'sometime' plus *ka* 'or', and *doko-ka* 'somewhere' with *doko* 'somewhere' plus *ka* 'or'.

In Korean, three classes of indefinite/definite pronouns are combined with delimiters *to* (Jap. *mo*) 'also', *na* (Jap. *demo*) 'or', and *inka* (Jap. *ka*) 'or' in the process of quantification. *To* is used for conjunction, *na* for disjunction, and *inka* for disjunction. Note that what-and which-classes of pronouns have the same surface forms as the wh-question word forms. This is not accidental since wh-questions imply indefinite pronouns as illustrated in (9). Such a correspondence also exists in many other languages such as Japanese, Chinese, and Vietnamese.

(59) a. *what-class*

nuku 'who/somebody', muəs 'what/something', əte 'where/somewhere', ənce 'when/sometime', əttəhke 'how/somehow',…

b. *which-class*

əni-salam 'which person/somebody', əni-kəs 'which thing/something, əni-kos 'which place/some place', əni-tte 'which time/some time',…

The what-class has indefinite and specific features, whereas the which-class has definite

and specific features as in English. Another class of indefinite pronouns does not have the corresponding wh-question word forms. The forms in this class correspond to the English wh-ever forms (e.g. who-ever, what-ever), which have indefinite and unspecific features. This class is never used alone, but is always combined with other morphemes such as *to*, *na*, and *inka*.

(60) *wh-ever class*

amu-(for person), amu-kəs(for thing), amu-te(for place),

amu-tte(for time), amu-ləhke(for method),…

I will examine quantification in affirmative sentences first. The combined forms of pronouns with delimiter *to* are quite unnatural:

(61) *Affirmative sentence*

a.(what-class): *? John-in *ənce-to* hengpokha-ta.
always happy

'John is always happy.'

b.(which-class): *? John-in *əni-kəs-to* mək-ninta.
any-thing eat

'John eats anything(edible).'

c.(wh-ever class): *? John-in *amu-kəs-to* ip-ninta.
any-thing wear

'John wears anything.'

The italicized forms are quite unnatural. This means that the delimiter *to* 'also' which is used for conjunction may be excluded from the formation of quantification in affirmative sentences.

In affirmative sentences, only *na* and *inka* participate in quantification. When *to* in the above example is replaced with *na*, the unnatural sentences become natural:

(62) a. John-in *ənce-na* hengpokha-ta. 'John is always happy.'

b. John-in *əni-kəs-ina* mək-ninta. 'John eats anything(edible).'

c. John-in *amu-kəs-ina* ip-ninta. 'John wears anything.'

The combined forms of pronouns and *na* (which has the disjunction function) form universal quantifiers, as shown in (62). This is verified by the fact that the *na*-form is compatible with the word which refers to 'all', but not with the word which refers to 'one', On the other hand, the *inka*-form expresses existential quantification. This is verfied by the fact that the *inka*-form is compatible with the word which refers to 'one', but not with 'all':

(63) a. *nuku-na* {motu, ? han-salam} o-il-kəs i-ta.
everybody all one-man come-will

'Everybody (all) will come.'

b. *nuku-nka* {*motu, han-salam} o-il-kəs i-ta.
somebody

'Somebody (one man) will come.'

(64) a. John-in *ənce-na* {hangsang, *han-pən} pappi-ta.
always always once busy

'John is always busy.'

b. *ənce-nka* {*hangsang, han-pən} manna-ca.
some-time

'Let us meet some time (once).'

*To*-forms are not natural in affirmative sentences. But they behave a bit differently in negative sentences. They are perfectly natural with pronouns of wh-ever class, but not natural with pronouns of other classes:

(65) *Negative sentences*

a. (what-class): ? John-i *muəs-to* an mək-ninta.
anything not eat
'John does not eat anything.'

b. (which-class): ? John-i *əni-kəs-to* an mək-ninta.
anything

'John does not eat anything.'

c. (wh-ever class): John-i *amu-kəs-to* an mək-ninta.
anything

'John does not eat anything.'

(c) which is the only perfectly natural structure expresses a total negation; hence, the *to*-form participates in universal quantification only in negative sentences.

The *na*-form can occur with any class of pronouns in negative sentences. As illustrated in the following, the *na*-form expresses a partial negation; hence, the *na*-form participates in existentail quantification in negative contexts. In the sense of total negation, the *na*-form is not perfectly natural:

(66) *Negative sentences*

a. John-in *muəs-ina* an mək-ninta.
anything not eat

(1) 'John does not eat everything.' (partial negation)

(2) ?? 'John eats nothing.' (total negation)

b. John-in *amu-kəs-ina* an mək-ninta.
anything

(1) 'John does not eat everything.' (partial negation)

(2) ?? 'John eats nothing.' (total negation)

The *inka*-form can cooccur with pronouns of what-and which-classes but not with the wh-ever class. This incompatibility can be accounted for by the fact that *inka* has indefinite and specific features whereas wh-ever class pronouns have indefinite and unspecific features. Specificity is not compatible with unspecificity. As illustrated in the following, the *inka*-form expresses existential quantification in negative contexts as well as in affirmative contexts:

(67) *Negative sentences*

a. *nuku-nka* an o-assta. 'Somebody has not come.'
somebody not come past

b. *əni-tte-nka* John-i mos ca assta. 'John could not sleep one time.'
sometime not sleep past

To summarize on quantification, the delimiter *to* (Jap. *mo*) which is used for conjunction is not naturally combined with pronouns of what-and which-classes. But it is natural only when occurred with pronouns of wh-ever class in negative contexts. The combined form of a wh-ever class pronoun plus *to* expresses total negation; hence, the delimiter *to* participates in universal quantification. The delimiter *na* (Jap. *demo*) which is used for disjunction is perfectly natural combined with pronouns of all types under discussion. The delimiter *na* participates in universal quantification in affirmative contexts, and participate in existential quantification in negative contexts. The *inka*-form (Jap. *ka*) is compatible with pronouns of what-and which-classes, but not with wh-ever class. The *inka*-form expresses existential quantification.

Observations in Korean quantification show that McCawley's generalization that universal quantification is related with conjunction and existential quantification with disjunction must be somewhat revised. Jackendoff (1972) argues that English *any* as a disjunction schema, unlike *every*, cannot be a universal quantifier. As shown above, however, Korean does not exactly obey his claim.[11]

## 7. LATO 'as the last recourse, even as the last recourse'

I postulate the following semantics of the delimiter *lato* (Jap. *demo*) 'as the last recourse, even as the last recourse':

[11] After the first draft of this paper, I noticed Ehrenkranz's (1973) paper, which shows that sometimes 'or' is equivalent to 'and'.

(68) **Semantics of *lato***

Presupposition: (1) The choice is closed except for the last recourse.

(2) Some act or event is necessarily required.

Assertion: The *lato*-attached element substitutes the ideal choice which is not available.

Implication: Elements except for the last recourse are not available.

Presupposition (1) says that in choosing among alternatives the last recourse alone is available and all the others are not. The closed choice of *lato* contrasts with the open choice of *na* discussed in section 6. For example,

(69) a. (shopkeeper to customer): ssan sweater-*nin* ta phalli-əssso.
cheap all sold
'All the cheap sweaters are sold out.'

b. (customer to shopkeeper): pissan sweater-{*lato*, **na*} sa-kessso.
expensive buy-will
'I will have to buy even an expensive sweater.'

Suppose a situation where a customer wants to buy a rather cheap sweater, but not an expensive one. If all the cheap ones are sold out, the shopkeeper is likely to utter sentence (a), which says that all the cheap ones are sold out, and implies that the expensive ones are not yet all sold out. This implication was discussed in connection with delimiter *nin* in section 2. The customer's intended primary choice was a cheap sweater, but the situation for cedhim to substitute an expensive one for a cheap one if he really wants to buy one at all. For such a substitution choice, the customer is to use *lato* instead of *na* as illustrated in (b). The delimiter *na* is out in this context, since it is used for an open choice. Note that the presence of *lato* in (b) presupposes that the speaker regards the act of buying a sweater (whether cheap or expensive) as a necessary requirement. This is the reason why Presupposition (2) is postulated in (68). In (b) the speaker asserts that he intends to substitute an expensive sweater for a cheap one (i.e. his intended primary choice). This sentence implies that the cheap sweaters are not available, as the implication in (68) indicates.

Now consider the following situation which contrasts with the preceding case. The customer intends to buy a rather expensive sweater (i.e. of high quality). But all the expensive ones are sold out. The context forces him to choose a cheap one if he really wants to buy one at all. In this case, he has to substitute a cheap one for an expensive one (i.e. his intended primary choice). The context requires the customer to utter (70b) instead of (69b):

(70) a. (shopkeeper to customer): pi-ssan kəs-*in* ta phalli-əssso.
expensive ones all sold
'All the expensive ones are sold out.'

b. (customer to shopkeeper): ssan kəs-{*ilato*, **ina*} sa-kessso.
cheap ones buy-will
'I will buy even a cheap one.'

*na* is out in (70b) for the same reason as in (69b).

Notice that the *lato*-attached element which is regarded as the last recourse in an act or event is an expensive sweater in (69b) and a cheap sweater in (70b). Put differently, the speaker's intended primary choice is an expensive sweater in (69b) but a cheap sweater in (70b). This fact clearly shows that the scale of the primary choice and the last recourse is not determined objectively but subjectively, that is, by the speaker's intention.

In the above, we confined our examples to the case of binary choices (i.e. two alternatives). In this case, the first choice is the primary choice while the second choice is the last recourse. The distinction of the primary choice and the last recourse is more clearly revealed in n-tuple cases. For example,

(71) a. ice-kkaci mos he-ssimyən, neil-*ilato* he-po-ala.
now-until not do-if tomorrow do-try
'If you have not done it until now, try to do it tomorrow (as the last recourse day).'

b. John-il toul salam-i əps- imyən, nə-*lato* towa-cu-əla.
obj help man subj no-if you help- offer
'If nobody helps John, you (as the last recourse person) help him'.

(a) provides a context: the earlier you do it, the better it is; but the business has not been done up to now. Tomorrow is not the most favorable day for somebody to do the business, but tomorrow as the last recourse day is indicated. If the speaker does not regard tomorrow as the last favorable day, he does not use the delimiter *lato*. In (b), so far no volunteer to help John is available. Thus, *you* is indicated as the last favorable person to help John. If the speaker regards *you* as the most favorable or near-favorable person to help John, he will not use the delimiter *lato*.

There are cases where both *na* and *lato* may be used with no big pragmatic difference. For example,

(72) a. hakcəm-il tta-llyəmyən, chulsək-{*ilato*, *ina*} cal ha-la.
credit obj get-want-if presence well do
'If you want to get course-credit, your attendence at least must be good.'

b. sul-i eps-imyən, mul-{*ilato, ina*} han-can cu-la.
liquor not-if water one-glass give-me
'If liquor is not available, at least give me a glass of water.'

(a) describes a context where the student's academic standing is not high, hence his attendence must be good if he wants to compensate for (or substitute) the low academic standing. In this context, the academic standing is the primary choice. But the primary choice is not available, so that the student must rely on some choice except for the primary one. The fact that the primary choice is not available in this case satisfies one requirement for the use of *na* and *lato*. Recall the difference between *na* and *lato*. The *lato*-attached element is the last recourse among the available alternatives for the primary choice, whereas the *na*-attaches element is not the last recourse. Nonetheless, there are cases where speakers do not pragamatically stick to the exact difference between the last recourse choice of *lato* and the non-last recourse choice of *na*. This means that the pragmatic scaling of the last recourse and the non-last recourse is not necessarily strictly observed. This statement, however, does not mean that their semantic differences (i.e. presuppositional, assertional, and implicational differences) of *na* and *lato* are chaotically blurred. (b) describes a context where the primary choice is liquor but it is not available. In order to compensate for (or substitute) the primary choice, the speaker asks water. If *lato* is used with water, the sentence implies that water is the last recourse alternative. If *na* is used with water, the sentence implies that water is not the last recourse, but one of the alternatives. But speakers pragamatically might use both *na* and *lato*.

It is interesting to note that Japanese does not lexicalize Korean *na* and *lato* differently. Japanese *demo* corresponds to Korean *na* and *lato*. This is not accidental in the sense that Korean *na* and *lato* might be alternatively used in many cases with no big pragamatic differences, as illustrated in the above.

As the delimiter *to* (Jap. *mo*) 'also' may cover the English 'even' sense if it refers to extreme cases (cf. section 4), so delimiter *lato* may cover the 'even' sense. In the case of *lato*, 'even' is combined with the last recourse, forming the sense of 'even as the last recourse'. For example,

(73) a. i sangca-lil woe socunghiha-na? i sok-e
this box obj why take-good-care this inside-in
kim-songaci-*lato* tilə-iss-na?
gold-calf exist
'Why do you take good care of this box? Do you have a gold calf inside?'

b. na-nin wang-*ilato* toen kipun i-ta.
I king become feeling be

'I feel that I became King.'

c. na-nin silyən-*ilato* tanghan kipun i-ta.
I betrayed-by-lover get-adversely feeling be

'I feel that I am betrayed by the lover.'

The English translations above carry the neutral reports, with no meanings of delimiters. In (a) a gold calf is not expected to be in the box. This is related to the gloss 'even as the last recourse'. Recall that 'even' presuppcses pcsitive or negative expectation (cf. sectiɔn 4). In the examples (73), it is the negative expectatiɔn. The term 'last rccourse' must be adjusted to the sense of 'last expectation', such that the tctal glcss is mcdified as 'even as the last recourse'. In (a) the speaker dces nct expect that the bcx contains a gold calf even as the last expectation. Likewise, in (b) the chance that I become King is beyond expectation. In (c) I did not expect that my lover (or sweetheart) would betray me at all. These extreme cases guarantee the context for the word 'even'.

## 8. Concluding Remarks

Irrespective of the descriptive mcdel, explanations cf linguistic phenomena have been cne of the most important goals especially since the launch of generative-transformatiɔnal grammar. This paper attempts to achieve this goal. The mere cccurrence of a certain demiter in a certain context is not our concelrn; instead, what is responsible for such an cccurrence, why on form is preferrable to others, etc. are explored. Since semantics is the linguistic area where meaningful communication is the object for analysis, any analysis with no consideration of such factors as social context and participants' intention, presupposition, assertion, and implication will be superficial at best. The approach of this paper may be dubbed as 'socio-psycho-semantics', which may be regarded as one of the pragmatic fields. If we regard semantics as the study of meaning within linguistic forms alone, the approach of this paper may deserve the name socio-psycho-semantics, because semantics is combined with social context and participants' mental states. It is hoped that this approach will be a useful tool for an analysis of other interesting semantic and pragmatic areas.

In order to understand how Korean (and Jadanese) delimiters are used in real situation, the socio-psycho-semantic approach is mandatory. One of the most difficult aspects for those who want to learn Korean (and Japanese) is delimiters. Without mastering the exact

uses of these particles, any foreigner will remain a foreigner who misses real essences of meaningful communication. This paper hopes to provide a road for foreigners to follow in order to understand delimiters.[12]

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## 討　　論

**高永根** : 종래 국어 문법에서 부사형이라고 하는 '아, 게, 지, 고'밑에 붙는 '먹어도, 먹지도, 먹지만도, 먹게도'와 같은 예는 들지 않으셨는데 그 관계는?

**梁綺錫** : 우리 말의 한정사는 다 됩니다. 예를 들면 embedded sentence도 됩니다. "죽기는 싫어, 살

[12] Some delimiters are dealt with in Martin and Lee (1969) from the pedagogic point of view.

고는 싶어, 좋게만 되면, 먹어야 보겠어, 먹어만 보겠어, 먹어나 보겠어, 먹어라도 보겠어,…"와 같이 다 됩니다. 그리고 부사도 되고 접속사도 된다는 것은 제 논문(Yang, 1972a)에서 이야기 했읍니다. 이 논문에서는 편의상 취급하지 않았읍니다.

**梁東暉** : Handout p.43에서 격표시(case marker)는 강조를 받는 일이 없다고 했는데, 이 예문의 경우에 격표시가 강조를 받으면 이상해지겠지요. 제 생각에는 일반적으로 전혀 강조(stress)를 받을 수 없다고 단정적으로 말할 수 있는 것인지, 예를 들어 2장 (a)의 경우"담배를 피지 마라"에서, 극단적인 예지만 외국인이 한국말을 배울 때 "담배를 피지 마라"고 할 것을 "담배가 피지 마라"고 했을 때 "담배를 피지 마라"로 고쳐줄때, stress를 격표시에 붙일수 있으니까, 강조를 받지 않는다는 제약을 약하게 해서 이러 이러한 경우는 어떻게 받지 않는다고 수정했으면 좋겠읍니다. 둘째로 Kuno가 말한 theme이냐 contrast냐 하는 관계는 이런 관계에 있지 않은가 봅니다. '는'이 대조(contrast)를 나타낼 때는 말씀하신 registered members 중에서 contrast members가 있어 가지고 거기서 하나를 잡아 그것을 context에서 집어 가지고 그 selected member를 non-selected member와 대조시키는 것이 아니겠읍니까? '는'이 theme으로 쓰일 때는 그 registered member가 하나인 경우가 아닌가, 그래서 그것을 선택했는데 대조할 registered member가 없는 경우가 아닐까? 생각됩니다.

**梁綺錫** : Handout를 보시면 아시겠지만, 제가 말하고자 하는 것을 삼분지일밖에 말씀드리지 못 했읍니다. 둘째 질문은 Kuno와 다소 다른 각도에서 자세히 다루고 있읍니다.